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EAST EUROPE REPORT POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

GERMAN	DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
	Friction Reported in Military Superior-Subordinate Relations (Harald Muehle; VOLKSARMEE, No 26, 1982)	1
	Training at Air Force Noncommissioned Officer College Detailed (M. Wolter; FLIEGER-REVUE, Jul 82)	2
	Order Enacted on Service in Interior Ministry's Garrisoned Units (GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, 19 May 82)	8
POLAND		
	Party, Government Officials Meet With Youth (SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 17 Jun 82)	20
	Barcikowski in Gdansk Milewski in Poznan Rakowski in Lublin Agriculture Minister Wojtecki	
	PZPR Koszalin First Secretary Jakubaszek Interviewed (Eugeniusz Jakubaszek Interview; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 29 Jun 82)	24
ROMANIA	A	
	Ceausescu Interviewed by Egyptian Newspaper (Nicolae Ceausescu Interview; SCINTEIA, 17 Aug 82)	28
YUGOSL	AVIA	
	Weakness of Party, Disintegrative Tendencies Discussed (Prvoslav Ralic; KOMUNIST, 23 Jul 82)	36

FRICTION REPORTED IN MILITARY SUPERIOR-SUBORDINATE RELATIONS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 26, 1982 (signed to press 21 Jun 82) p 4

[Article by Capt Harald Muehle: "What Now, Commander?--Discharged From Non-commissioned Officer School With Solid Accomplishments; Three Young NCO's Were Hoping for an Understanding Reception and Saw Their Expectations Fulfilled in Different Ways"]

[Text] Prevailing with sturdy accomplishments in and before their units, that is what the squad leaders had counseled them on at the NCO school before the brand-new tank commanders and NCO's Heiko Richard, Torsten Landmann and Frank Emme made their way a few weeks ago into the Bartningkat battalion of the Friedrich Wolf tank regiment. With mixed feelings. Superiors they would be, from one day to the next, fully responsible for themselves and their crew. And prevailing with sturdy accomplishments, that is what they wanted.

It would not wholly depend on them, however. No one, after all, is a perfect commander after only half a year of schooling.

So those three counted on consideration from their seniors, on comradely aid and assistance. Were those expectations fulfilled? VOLKSARMEE went to find out.

Is This the Custom from Way Back?

NCO Heiko Richard reported he had not "made it right away" with the old-timers in Heinrich's company. Disdainful remarks and insinuations "the new ones were not all that hot" had been the order of the day. Yet his crew had fortunately restrained itself. Advance laurels for soldiers Peter Rebhan and Wolfgang Pohl, the gun-layer and the loader?

The commander was more realistic: "If we want to come up with good achievements, e.g. in firing, one crew member in the tank has to rely on the others." That was an unwritten law, a combat requirement. And during regular service, leave or furlough not last depended on that, for the results achieved in firing was what counted most in the company.

The two soldiers confirmed that and added they did not care how old their commander was but how he led them in firing and how sure he himself was about the weapons. "Each crew member shares in the success or failure," gun-layer Peter Rebhan asserted. So it was normal to be comradely toward one another in the tank. --Only in the tank?

Then there also was talk about a strange test a "new" one first had to undergo. During the first room inspection. Then soldier Pohl had tapped his commander, NCO Richard, on the shoulder, rather more in a boorish than in a familiar fashion, and asked him: "Well, serg, want to see my locker?"

And he then almost had lost all his composure when the tank commander, all quietly yet decidedly, responded by saying "yes, I do."

The second of the three, the youngest commander, NCO Torsten Landmann of the Neugebauer Company, had no such complaints, he said. "Certainly also because I had comradely conversations with each member of the crew right from the start," he explained. He had turned the talk to their approaching tasks in combat training and on what each could do for their collective success. During this first conversation they had laid the cornerstone for their future comradeship.

No Complaints--No Worries?

Even so, NCO Landmann said, he was not altogether satisfied. He had expected, e.g., that the company commander would perhaps also find the time for a confident conversation with his junior NCO's. Furthermore the commander wanted to find out more about the use and repair of the tank so he could give better instructions to the driver.

Lt Joerg Witt, party group organizer and the company's deputy commander for technical equipment, was surprised when he heard it. Right at the beginning he had talked with Comrade Landmann and told him of the company's successes in the last training year, of the excellent grade in combat firing, e.g., and of how the party group had contributed to those results. So the NCO was told that mediocre or backward comrades in training are called to task, all with the attempt to push one another ahead in a comradely way. So the party group organizer had encouraged the commander: Come to me, come to the comrade when you have worries or problems! I should have approached him myself, Lt Witt now reflected, words as such give no one confidence. During training breaks and at other suitable opportunities he would provide the young commander in the future with more technical knowledge, he decided. And he would strongly advise the company commander to hold the long overdue conversation with the youngest commanders.

Permanent Brooms and Scrubbrushes?

NCO Frank Emme of the same company has entirely different worries. He had acclimated himself quite well meanwhile, he said, yet he had trouble making contact with his room orderly, NCO Andreas Dikall. As the top gun-layer he undoubtedly was an ace, and one could always ask him technical questions. Yet he had told him right on the first day his duty as a new one also was to do room service for half a year. And when Frank Emme remonstrated that that was not the custom either for soldiers' rooms nor for drivers, the orderly threatened to pour a bucket of sand over the floor and force him to clean the floor with rags and sand.

So he rather approached the platoon leader, Lt Lange, NCO Frank Emme said, if he could not get along with someone. He would have liked to entrust his worries to his superior, but he did not want to appear a slanderer. And so his initial remonstrance gradually turned into resignation.

NCO Dikall had not noticed it. When it came up, he now justified himself: Six months ago he himself had been "stuck with permanent room service." And Emme was better off, too; the room he had to keep clean had been much larger.

Did the older NCO never get the idea that he would thereby alienate a comrade with whom he should pull on the same end of the rope? Evidently not. Otherwise he would have noticed that the new one avoids him although he had offered him his help, surveys and training documents. NCO Dikall even had been ready to assume the sponsorship for the younger man but ignored that that mainly calls for clean and definitely comradely relations among class comrades where helping is an inner need for the one and a perceptible enrichment for the other. Overbearing manners do not enhance socialist relations.

The new commanders had intended to prevail in and before their units. They had been hoping for a helping hand from the more experienced comrades in the battalion. And many hands were indeed stretched out to them offering comradely help. Yet the success would be enhanced if one could cut out all such old bias, so that the fighting strength and combat readiness could grow more rapidly—from being with one another to being for one another. And that is not too much to ask for.

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cso: 2300/375

TRAINING AT AIR FORCE NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICER COLLEGE DETAILED

East Berlin FLIEGER-REVUE in German No 7, Jul 82 pp 300-302

[Article by M. Wolter: "Learn the Mission"]

[Text] "The success in the air is prepared on the ground." That is an old air force adage. For a fighter plane, a transport plane or a helicopter to be able to take off, many specialists must work together. That includes career and extended-term NCO's. FLIEGER-REVUE visited the Harry Kuhn air force and air defense NCO college to find out on the spot about the training of those specialists.

Modern blocks of multistoried apartment houses and training buildings for theoretical instruction, asphalt roads clean as a whistle, manicured parks, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, a club house (with a gastronomy, incidentally, that measures up to any Interhotel), order and discipline everywhere one looks—that is the impressive picture of the Harry Kuhn LSK/LV (air force/air defense) NCO college. That is also true of the training airfield, located somewhat off in the woods, the place for practice training. Military aircraft and helicopters of various types and models are as much part of it as are modern radar equipment, laboratories, radio stations, classrooms, firing ranges and a sports arena.

This college has not been in existence very long, scarcely 10 years. It was set up in November 1973, a year later, on 7 October 1974, it got its military flag, and 12 months later again, the obliging name Harry Kuhn was given to it.

Harry Kuhn, top functionary in the Communist Youth League, came from the outskirts of Leipzig; while incarcerated in the Buchenwald connentration camp, he became a member of the international camp committee. After Hitler fascism was crushed in Germany, Harry Kuhn became the secretary general of the Association of the Persecutees of the Nazi Regime and later held an important position in the GDR foreign ministry. His life and struggle are a model today to the cadre and trainees at the LSK/LV NCO college. How responsibly they show themselves worthy of their model was demonstrated when the school, on the occasion of our republic's 30th anniversary, was awarded the Scharnhorst Medal, the NVA's highest distinction.

Relevant and Interesting

There are many sides to this training program; the teaching objective in this training facility, furnished with the latest aspects of military affairs, is ambitious. It would be a mistake to think the school, in addition to its cadre, has only future NCO's for flight engineering and antiaircraft rocket artillery. Military new blood is trained here in more than 100 types of training. There simply is not enough space to give an account of them all. So we shall confine ourselves to a few at this point.

Flight engineering (FID) trains mechanics in propulsion, special electrical equipment, radio and radar and aircraft weapons.

Communications technology includes the future specialists for radar stations, operational headquarters and weather service technicians (meteorologists).

Radio, telephone and teletype NCO's on the one side and troop commanders and mechanics for take-off and control points or for radar installations, on the other, are trained in communications/flight security.

And then there also are the rear services including the cooks and medics, the so-called airfield fire department, the aircraft supply technology mechanics, laboratory technicians for fuels and lubricants etc. etc. FLIEGER-REVUE looked at flight engineering. Divided into platoons, and directed, instructed and supervised by experienced training officers, warrant officers and NCO's, the trainees get basic knowledge, practical experiences and the necessary skills in MiG's and Mi's.

One MiG-21 is used to train for flight preparation, maintenance and checks on the aircraft. NCO trainees carry out inspections and controls on radar sighting devices, the radio station, the radio compass, the radio altimeter and other devices. Such a MiG has more than 20 antennas—more than enough, indeed. Others are training missile loading and unloading on the MiG-21. There one must watch the split pins, the proper handling of the ignition key, the priming and the safety regulations and so much else. In the class next-door an officer explains by means of a model the structure and function of the hydraulic system in a MiG-21.

Everywhere one can sensehow much the training is geared to getting a vivid grasp and the experience of things, because what one can see and perceive oneself is learned faster and better.

Again and again the future specialist is impressed with how much depends on the accuracy and reliability of their work: for the functioning of the engine and the life of the pilot and, in the emergency, perhaps even victory or defeat in air combat.

Trainees Become Specialists

There are quite a number of NCO trainees who did not find it all too easy to make the switch from civilian to military life; there were problems and worries.

But then there also is the sense to have faced an important social and political task, and furthermore, not rarely it is the interest in modern technology, in electronics, optics, aerodynamics, chemistry and mathematics, that helps surmount initial difficulties. The fascination of going to have to deal with suprasonic fighter aircraft, spacious transport planes or maneuverable combat helicopters is simply always there.

Not everyone has preliminary knowledge when he gets to the NCO college that might have been acquired through glider training in the GST, radio tinkering, collection of types or perhaps simply through reading FLIEGER-REVUE regularly. That is why personal sponsorships and collective support within the groups do a lot of good here. But the training officers themselves are available with words and deeds, are not only trainers and educators but companions and comrades as well who often can point to longtime experience with flight techniques and dig into their rich treasure of experiences. After all, these budding specialists who are trained at the Harry Kuhn NCO College are the ones that will once greatly share in the decisions on the full capacity utilization of the performance parameters of an aircraft or helicopter. But before these future NCO's can assume that responsibility, they must keep learning and learn and learn again. That way one must also understand the clear guideline the youth association has given the NCO College, stating that learning is the most important task of the FDJ members at the college. In its "campaign mission for learning," the FDJ organization is principally concerned with a creative atmosphere and a high dedication to learning, be it in social science, militarytechnical or specialized technical training. Eventually an NCO has to know not only what he does but mainly also why he does what he does. While the college does provide most pertinent training, some imprints ordinary military life could make are still missing, such as a word of appreciation from the pilot to the mechanic and technician who keep his engine ready for take-off and operational, often under intricate conditions.

The search for quality work, however, the symbol of which is the famous blue "Q" on the fuselage, is as much alive in the school as in the "troop." So it is not astonishing that some MiG-21's of the Harry Kuhn College, being "aircraft of excellent quality," likewise bear the "Q" sign, reflecting the desire to give one's best already during training.

School Is Over--Learning Too?

To anticipate the answer: No! As one keeps advancing one's education, political and technical, in every domain of our society today—be it in enterprises, administrations or institutions—so an NCO does not stop either educating himself once he has joined his troop component. Schools can always only provide basic theoretical and practical positions. Remaining up—to—date and becoming more certain and learning more of what is new, becoming an ace in one's field, is a continuous learning process that lasts a lifetime.

Modern military affairs, the great advances in science and technology, bring it about that our republic's air force and air defense also get equipped with modern and the latest technology. An inspiring field of activity opens up here for young people interested in technology, especially in aircraft technology.

The Harry Kuhn NCO College can thus become a point of departure for life-long, interesting and versatile work, always intimately connected with the latest in the field of military technology, especially in the field of military aviation. When after 3 years some of the NCO's, after having completed their active military service, are transferred into the reserve, an LSK/LV career NCO and warrant officer of the NVA finds prospects which we still want to point out here briefly.

For the first time a 2-year course will be offered for warrant officers at the LSK/LV NCO College in September 1982. Along with perfecting the technical training, this form of training is meant to provide the warrant officers with skills as economic engineers, engineers, automation engineers, electrical engineers, communications engineers or teachers in engineering—depending on their assignments in LSK/LV. Such qualifications apply fully in civilian life and help the warrant officers find responsible and executive positions after they have taken care of their military service.

Our visit to the NCO College has demonstrated once again: Our LSK/LV NCO's have an important and responsible task which is as tough as it is interesting. It is a genuine test and has already become a lifetime task for many of them. What mattered here first and foremost—as elsewhere as well—has been to go and learn.

LSK/LV NCO Assignments:

Flight Engineering NCO (FID)
Military Flight Security NCO
Aircraft Supply Technology NCO
Meteorological NCO
Antiaircraft Artillery NCO
Aerospace NCO
Communications and Flight Security NCO

5885

cso: 2300/370

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ORDER ENACTED ON SERVICE IN INTERIOR MINISTRY'S GARRISONED UNITS

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 19, 19 May 82 pp 389-394

[Official text of "Order on the National Defense Council of the German Democratic Republic on the Career Service in the Garrisoned Units of the Ministry of the Interior—Career Service Order—Garrisoned Units of the Ministry of the Interior—dated 23 April 1982," effective May 1982, signed by E. Honecker, chairman, GDR National Defense Council]

[Text] To regulate the service in the garrisoned units of the ministry of the interior, and based on articles 2, section 3, and 45, section 1, of the 25 March 1982 law on military service in the GDR--military service law--(GBL Part I No 12, p 221), the following is decreed:

Section L: General Regulations

Article 1: Service Rules for the Garrisoned Units of the Ministry of the Interior

- (1) Service in the garrisoned units of the ministry of the interior, in accordance with article 2, section 3, of the military service law, counts as military service.
- (2) Garrisoned units of the ministry of the interior in terms of this order are the People's Police alert units, the companies of the transport police, the officers college and the NCO school of the ministry of the interior—stand—by units—and other relevant units and facilities of the ministry of the interior (henceforth referred to as garrisoned units), in which service is governed by this career service order.
- (3) Service in the garrisoned units is regulated by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police through orders, directives, service regulations and other instructions.

Article 2: Start of Service in the Garrisoned Units

Service in the garrisoned units stars with the date set down in the conscription notice or in the order on the start of the service in the garrisoned units.

Article 3: Swearing-in

The members of the garrisoned units are sworn in (Annex).

Article 4: Principles for the Handling of Rights and Duties of the Members of the Garrisoned Units

- (1) Members of the garrisoned units enjoy the constitutional basic rights and duties of GDR citizens.
- (2) Special rights and duties during service in the garrisoned units arise from the requirements for the reliable protection of the workers and farmers power of the GDR and are issued, on the basis of the military service law, in legal regulations and in orders, directives, service regulations and other instructions from the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 5: Distinctions among Members of the Garrisoned Units

Members of the garrisoned units are distinguished in terms of

- --(a) terms of service as
 Sergeant in the garrisoned units,
 Extended-term deputy commanders,
 Career NCO, and
 Career officer;
- --(b) groups of rank as
 Sergeant,
 Deputy commander candidate,
 Deputy commander,
 Officer candidate, and
 Officer; and
- --(c) authority as Superior or Subordinate.

Article 6: Terms of Service

- (1) Sergeants in the garrisoned units (henceforth referred to as sergeants) are GDR citizens liable for military service performing their military service equivalent in the garrisoned units.
- (2) Extended-term deputy commanders are members of the garrisoned units serving voluntarily for a term specified in article 22, their terms of service having been confirmed by order.
- (3) Career NCO's and career officers are members of the garrisoned units who serve voluntarily for a term specified in article 30, their terms of service having been confirmed by order.
- (4) Female citizens may serve in the garrisoned units in accordance with sections 2 or 3. Particulars are issued by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 7: Changing the Terms of Service

- (1) Terms of service are, in principle, changed on the recommendation by a superior and on the basis of an appropriate commitment made by a member of the garrisoned units. The new terms of service are confirmed by order. The time served under the previous terms is, in principle, applied to the new terms.
- (2) Terms of service by extended-term deputy commanders and career NCO's can be changed into the term of service of a sergeant without the obligation specified in section 1 if these members of the garrisoned units concerned were committed to perform basic military service to begin with, their basic military service was not fulfilled to full term, or a deficent performance, discipline violations or other reasons preclude their assignment to their place of authority intended or charged with.
- (3) Members of the garrisoned units who in the course of their special training or prior to being appointed deputy commander or officer are released from their commitment, due to their attitudinal development or lack of motivation for serving in the garrisoned units as extended-term deputy commanders or career NCO's or career officers, must in principle perform a service commensurate to basic military service without being able to apply their previous term of service. Particulars are issued by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.
- (4) When terms of service are changed, as to sections 1 to 3, members of the garrisoned units concerned continue their service in a rank that conforms with their new term of service, their performance and their general attitude.

Article 8: Rank Designations

Members of the garrisoned units carry the following ranks:

Groups of Rank		Rank
(a)	Sergeants	VP [People's Police] Candidate
	•	VP Sub-sergeant
(b)	Deputy commander can-	VP Deputy Commander Candidate (equal in rank with
	didate	VP Sub-sergeants)
(c)	Deputy commanders	VP First Sergeant
	•	VP Master Sergeant
		VP Chief
		VP Top Chief
(d)	Officer candidates	VP Officer Candidate, equal in rank:
		during vocational or college training with

VP Candidates; during 4-year training at officer colleges, with VP First Sergeants in the first, VP Master Sergeants in the second, VP Chiefs in the third, and VP Top Chiefs in the fourth year.

(e) Officers

-- Lieutenants VP Sub-lieutenant

VP Lieutenant

VP First Lieutenant

-- Captains

VP Captain VP Major

- Staff Officers

VI Hajoi

VP Lieutenant Colonel

VP Colonel

-- Generals

Major General

Lieutenant General

Article 9: Appointment and Promotion

(1) Members of the garrisoned units are appointed up to the top rank within a group of rank, to the first general's rank or to an authority and are promoted within a group of rank or as general.

(2) Prerequisites for appointment or promotion are

(a) political, military and specialized police knowledge, skills and abilities and personal suitability, and

(b) a vacancy.

- (3) Appointment is possible for a higher, equivalent or lower place of authority.
- (4) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may allow promotions above the rank the table of organization calls for.
- (5) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police holds the competency for making appointments and promotions.
- (6) Generals are appointed or promoted by the chairman of the GDR National Defense Council.

Article 10: Reduction in Rank and Authority

Reduction in rank or authority is a disciplinary penalty and is carried out on the basis of disciplinary regulations. This does not affect the regulations of articles 7, sections 2 to 4; 9, section 3; and 31, section 5.

Article 11: Seniority in the Garrisoned Units

- (1) Seniority in the garrisoned units as a rule conforms with the time of service with the garrisoned units as to this career service order.
- (2) To the seniority in the garrisoned units is applied the time served in
 - (a) the German People's Police and the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior,
 - (b) the National People's Army,
 - (c) the Border Troops of the GDR,
 - (d) the Ministry for State Security,
 - (e) Civil Defense, and
 - (f) the former Garrisoned People's Police, German Border Police and Alert Police and the former Air Defense.

(3) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may allow still other activities to count for establishing seniority in the garrisoned units.

Article 12: Awarding State Distinctions, Academic Degrees and Titles

- (1) State distinctions, academic degrees and titles are awareded to members of the garrisoned units on the basis of legal regulations, orders, directives, service regulations and other instructions issued to that end.
- (2) Members of the garrisoned units awarded an academic dgree from a military academy or other college in some other socialist state, to use their degree or the GDR's equivalent of it, require the permission for it from the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.
- (3) Using academic degrees or titles and wearing state distinctions during the service in the garrisoned units is up to the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 13: Sideline Occupational Activity

In principle, members of the garrisoned units are not allowed to carry on sideline occupational activities. Exceptions may be authorized by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 14: Termination of Service

Service with the garrisoned units is terminated by reasons referred to in articles 17, 23, 31, 33 or 35.

Section II: The Terms of Service for Sergeants in the Garrisoned Units

Article 15: Appointment to Initial Sergeant's Rank

Sergeants, by being called into service, get their initial sergeant's rank.

Article 16: Promotion

Sergeants can be promoted up to VP Sub-sergeant.

Article 17: Discharge

- (1) The sergeants' service is terminated when they are discharged from the garrisoned units at dates determined by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.
- (2) Premature discharge from the garrisoned units may come for the following reasons:
 - (a) The assumption of important state or social tasks;
 - (b) extremely tough personal circumstances;
 - (c) temporary unsuitability to the service; and
 - (d) permanent unsuitability to the service.

(3) In specific cases, and on requests from superiors, the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may authorize discharge from the service in the garrisoned units for other reasons then the ones referred to in section 2.

Section III: Terms of Service for the Extended-term Deputy Commanders

Article 18: Commitment

Prior to entering the service, citizens who have not yet served with the garrisoned units or sergeants commit themselves to voluntary service as extended term deputy commanders.

Article 19: Start of the Term of Service

The term of service for the extended-term deputy commanders begins at the date stated in the summons or the order from the superior. That may be at the start of serving the with the garrisoned units or during or after completing the service as sergeant.

Article 20: Training

- (1) Training of members of the garrisoned units under the service term of extended-term deputy commanders is given:
 - (a) in deputy commander courses at educational and training institutions of the ministry of the interior or some other courses in the National People's Army, or
 - (b) on duty.
- (2) During deputy commander training the members of the garrisoned units are deputy commander trainees.
- (3) After a successful completion of their training, deputy commander trainees are appointed to a rank of deputy commanders.
- (4) Members of the garrisoned units or other citizens with special skills and expertise may be made extended-term deputy commanders and receive the rank of deputy commander without the training as to section 1.

Article 21: Promotion

Extended-term deputy commanders may be promoted up to the rank of VP master sergeant.

Article 22: Term of Service

For extended-term dputy commanders the term of service is at least 3 years. Exceptions are handled by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 23: Discharge

- (1) Discharge from service with garrisoned units normally takes place after the term of service has come to an end.
- (2) Discharge also is possible for
 - (a) assuming important state or social tasks;
 - (b) extraordinarily difficult personal circumstances;
 - (c) structural changes:
 - (d) temporary unsuitability for service;
 - (e) permanent unsuitability for service;
 - (f) deficiency in the fulfilment of service obligations; and
 - (g) disciplinary reasons.
- (3) Members of the garrisoned units whose term of service has not yet reached the length established for basic military service cannot be dismissed from the garrisoned units for reasons as of section 2, letters c, f or g if, when they started their service with the garrisoned units, they still were committed to take care of their basic military service. Then the term of the service they have to accomplish is of a duration equivalent to their basic military service. This does not affect the regulation of article 33, section 1, letter a.
- (4) Members of the garrisoned units who, based on the commitment they have made, are called up as extended-term deputy commanders and reject that obligation up to 4 weeks after being summoned, can be discharged.
- (5) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police or his deputies make the decisions on discharging extended-term deputy commanders.

Section IV: Terms of Service for Career NCO's and Career Officers

Article 24: Commitment

Prior to assuming their term of service, citizens who had no previous service with garrisoned units or members of the garrisoned units commit themselves to serving voluntarily as career NCO's or career officers.

Article 25: Start of the Term of Service

The term of service for career NCO's or career officers begins at the date stated in the summons or the order from their superior. That may be established at the start or during the service with the garrisoned units.

Article 26: Career NCO Training and Terms of Service

(1) Training for members of garrisoned units in career NCO status comes in stages: (a) through deputy commander courses at educational and training institutions of the ministry of the interior or commensurate courses in the National People's Army or while on duty; and (b) through career deputy commander courses or at civil training institutions.

- (2) During training at the deputy commander course or while on duty, members of the garrisoned units are deputy commander trainees.
- (3) After a successful conclusion of training through a deputy commander course or while on duty, deputy commander trainees receive a deputy commander rank.
- (4) After a successful conclusion of training through a career NCO course, the career NCO's receive a state certification as chiefs.

Article 27: Career Officer Training and Term of Service

- (1) Career officers are trained to become college cadre.
- (2) Training for members of garrisoned units in career officer status can be given at (a) the officers college of the ministry of the interior—stand—by—; (b) officer colleges of the National People's Army; or (c) civil colleges providing subsequent training at a teaching institution of the armed organs.
- (3) During officer training, the members of the garrisoned units are officer candidates.
- (4) After a successful conclusion of training, officer candidates receive an officer's rank.
- (5) After a successful conclusion of college training, career officers receive a civilian job classification.

Article 28: Receiving Status Without Training

Without training as to articles 26 and 27, the following may be given the status of career NCO or career officer: (a) Sergeants and deputy commanders in the garrisoned units who have special abilities and expertise and (b) Citizens with special abilities and expertise and with outstanding accomplishments and merits.

Article 29: Advanced Training

Career NCO's and career officers must constantly acquire through advanced training more political, military, specialized police and scientific-technical knowledge and practical skills and facilities for any given assignments. That is done through practical assignments on duty, attending teaching institutions of the ministry of interior, the National People's Army or other socialist states, self-study or, in exceptional instances, correspondence courses or enrolling in courses at civilian colleges or technical schools.

Article 30: Term of Service

(1) The minimum term of service calls for a 10-year period as career NCO and a 25-year period as career officer and the maximum, retirement age for serving with the garrisoned units.

- (2) The retirement age for serving with the garrisoned units normally is 65 for career NCO's and career officers and 60 for women serving with the garrisoned units. It is 5 years less for fighters against fascism or persons persecuted by fascism.
- (3) Exceptions from the regulations of sections 1 and 2 are determined by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 31: Discharge

- (1) The discharge of career NCO's and career officers normally takes place after the term of service has come to an end as to the terms set down in article 30.
- (2) Discharge also is possible for
 - (a) assuming important state or social tasks;
 - (b) extraordinarily difficult personal circumstances;
 - (c) structural changes;
 - (d) temporary unsuitability for service;
 - (e) permanent unsuitability for service;
 - (f) insufficient qualifications for serving as a career NCO or career officer;
 - (g) deficiency in the £ulfilment of service obligations; and
 - (h) disciplinary reasons.
- (3) Members of the garrisoned units whose term of service has not yet reached the length established for basic military service cannot be dismissed from the garrisoned units for reasons as of section 2, letters c, f, g or h if, when they started their service with the garrisoned units, they still were committed to take care of their basic military service. Then the term of service they have to accomplish is of a duration equivalent to their basic military service. This does not affect the regulation of article 33, section 1, letter a.
- (4) Members of the garrisoned units who, based on the commitment they have made, are called up as career NCO or career officer and reject that obligation up to 4 weeks after being summoned, can be discharged.
- (5) Deputy commander trainees and officer candidates are dismissed from serving with the garrisoned units at ranks commensurate with their performance and general attitude. When dismissed before the first half-year of training has ended, they leave in sergeant's rank.
- (6) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police or his deputies make the decisions on discharging career NCO's and career officers.
- (7) The discharging of generals is up to the chairman of the GDR National Defense Council.

Section V: Special Regulations

Article 32: Regulations on Appointment and Promotion

The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may set down higher obtainable ranks for sergeants and extended-term deputy commanders than provided for by the appropriate provisions in this career service order without any changes resulting from it for the terms of service and the other applicable provisions. The precondition for it is that such members of the garrisoned units have the kind of special knowledge or other special features and facilities that enable them to take on a position, without extending the term of service needed for their status, that conforms with this higher obtainable rank.

Article 33: Regulations on the Term of Service

- (1) Members of the garrisoned units under criminal prosecution during their service period normally remain members of the garrisoned units. When sergeants or deputy commanders on extended terms get prison sentences, their term of service is extended for as long as it takes for them to serve their penalty by what it takes for them to complete a service commensurate with basic military service or meet their obligations assumed. The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may rule that
- (a) members of the garrisoned units, irrespective of stipulations in articles 17, section 2; 23, section 3; and 31, section 3, be discharged from service in the garrisoned units, if on account of their conduct and prison sentence the purpose of serving with the garrisoned units is unobtainable; or
- (b) extended-term deputy commanders, after exemplary fulfilment of duty, are discharged after a prison sentence when their term of service expires in conformity with their assumed commitment.
- (2) The term of service also is extended for sergeants who suffered disciplinary arrests or went on unauthorized leave, by the duration of the arrests or unauthorized leave. In the case of exemplary performance and model conduct, or when the purpose of serving as a sergeant has been obtained, the discharge may come at scheduled discharge dates.

Article 34: Regulations for Service Commensurate with Serving in the Reserves

- (1) Conscripts summoned to serve with the garrisoned units for a term commensurate with serving in the reserves are members of the garrisoned units from their day of summons.
- (2) While they so serve, as to section 1, these members of the garrisoned units may be appointed or promoted, as requirements demand, irrespective of the other regulations on terms of service in the garrisoned units.
- (3) Members of the garrisoned units serving in terms of section 1, do not get their terms of service extended after incurring disciplinary arrests or prison sentences.

(4) The provisions of this order govern members of the garrisoned units serving in terms of section 1, with consideration given to the particulars of their service.

Article 35: Regulations on Mobilization and the State of Defense

- (1) During a mobilization or state of defense the members of the garrisoned units may be appointed or promoted without there being any terms of service for extended-term deputy commanders, career NCO's or career officers.
- (2) The members of the garrisoned units may be dismissed from serving with the garrisoned units during mobilization or the state of defense only when they are no longer under military service obligation or by special order from the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police. An ahead-of-time discharge from service with the garrisoned units is possible for the following reasons: (a) permanent unsuitability for service, making their use in serving with the garrisoned units impossible; (b) assuming state or social tasks important for national defense; and (c) extraordinarily difficult personal circumstances.
- (3) The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police may issue further regulations on serving with the garrisoned units during mobilization or in the state of defense.

Section VI: Final Provisions

Article 36: Implementing Regulations

The minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police issues implementing regulations and other regulations.

Article 37: Effective Date of this Order

- This order goes into effect on 1 May 1982.
- (2) Simultaneously rescinded is the 18 October 1974 order of the GDR National Defense Council on substitute military service in the People's Police alert units, the companies of the transport police, the officers college and the NCO school of the ministry of the interior—stand—by units.

Annex: Re Article 3 of present order

Oath to the Flag

I swear always loyally to serve the GDR, my fatherland, and protect it, on orders from the workers and farmers government, from any enemy.

I swear always to be ready to defend socialism against all enemies and stake my life on gaining victory alongside the National People's Army and the other protective and security organs of the GDR and firmly allied with the armies and security organs of the Soviet Union and the other allied socialist countries.

I swear to be an honest, brave, disciplined and vigilant People's Policeman, to show unconditional obedience to my superiors, to fulfil orders with all determination, and always to guard strictly the military and state secrets.

I swear conscientiously to acquire the knowledge for dealing with my tasks, to fulfil the service regulations, and everywhere and always to uphold the honor of our republic and of its armed organs.

Should I ever infringe this solemn oath to the flag of mine, I may suffer the harsh penalty of our republic's laws and the contempt of the working people.

5885

cso: 2300/369

POLAND

PARTY, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS MEET WITH YOUTH

Barcikowski in Gdansk

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2

[Article prepared by s.]

[Text] In Gdansk party organizations and youth group circles a debate has been going on since April concerning the most pressing problems facing the younger generation. In the wake of this debate a report on youth was written up by the Gdansk Voivodship Office and the Voivodship Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. This document together with the ideas generated by the debate were the main topic of discussion during the plenum of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR held on 16 June in Gdansk on the topic of the sociopolitical situation and how it affects the region's youth.

These proceedings, which were presided over by the first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Gdansk, Stanislaw Bejger, were attended by the following Politburo members: secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Kazimierz Barcikowski, and first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Lenin Shipyards, Jan Labedzki.

Based on the materials submitted for discussion at the plenum, according to a report filed by a PAP correspondent, it was concluded that the younger generation is caught up in a profound crisis in both the socioeconomic and ideological-political spheres. The inconsistencies between officially proclaimed programs and the way these programs are being put into practice, between the potential opportunities opened up by the system and the real status of young people and the fulfillment of their ambitions have tended to undermine the credibility of the party's political line in the eyes of young people. Symptoms of this attitude have emerged in an especially forceful way in Gdansk Voivodship.

Gaps have developed in this voivodship between the growth of the economy and the growth of the social services infrastuructre that are especially burdensome for young people. This was illustrated in detail by the aforementioned report which called attention to, among other things, the painful problem of the housing shortage.

During the discussion period a great deal of attention was focused on current problems related to the education of the younger generation, especially so with reference to the capabilities and responsibilities of schools and institutions of higher learning in Gdansk. A dominant theme in the statements which were made was the belief that to whatever extent the younger generation may be faced with a whole host of unique problems, there is no way to find effective solutions to these problems that treats them in isolation from the crucial problems facing the nation as a whole. On the other hand, there is no hope of finding solutions to these problems without getting young people themselves involved in the process of doing so.

In his remarks Kazimierz Barcikowski pointed out, among other things, that even though young people, and not just this segment of society, have many legitimate complaints, the efforts we make to meet their needs should be focused on what goals are feasible and then we should proceed to decide how we are going to go about realizing these goals. By the same token, young people themselves are faced with a clear dilemma. Namely, should they wait to be given what they want or should they go out and work for what they want. The speaker talked at length about the problem of rebelliousness and ideological slackness among young people. While observing that nothing useful can be accomplished by applying ordinary standards of judgment in assessing this problem, he stated that one of the factors which has made this problem worse is the lack of contact between the party and young people.

There is no factual basis for the misleading and socially destructive myth of the "lost generation" that is being bandied about by some young people. Among some of the fundamental things which the older generation owes to the younger generation, young people have received an education and employment opportunities, but things are also not really as bad as they are claimed to be when it comes to the question of career advancement and the fulfillment of other personal ambitions. The housing problem remains to be dealt with, and it really should be resolved once and for all.

At the close of the proceedings the plenum endorsed the position taken by the voivodship party organization on the draft version of the Ideological Platform Declaration of Principles of the PZPR entitled "What We Are Fighting For, Where We Are Headed."

Milewski in Poznan

[Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2]

[Article by pr]

[Text] "It has been the intention of the party leadership, prior to every plenary session of the Central Committee, to thoroughly familiarize itself with the opinions of certain segments of society, and so we likewise want the forthcoming 9th Plenum, which will be devoted to a discussion of the problems of young people, to be preceded by a wide-ranging exchange of views with your youth organization. Having had a chance to say something about themselves and their concerns, we want young people to be joint authors of the

documents which will be endorsed by this plenum, and we want the full support of young people for the tasks which the party will embark upon with the needs of young people in mind." It was with these words that Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary Miroslaw Milewski opened his meeting with the ZSMP aktiv of Poznan Voivodship. The meeting took place last Wednesday at the Party headquarters building in Poznan. The first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, brigadier general Edward Lukasik, also attended the meeting.

In presenting his views on the problems of the younger generation, the Central Committee secretary stressed that the party leadership is aware of the fact that young people may feel frustrated about the prospects for realizing their ambitions and wishes. However, the days when unrealistic but, for all that, very enticing slogans were being bandied about are now behind us. This is why the party leadership will try to make sure that the 9th Plenum devoted to the problems of youth does not produce any declarations reminiscent of these kinds of past negative practices. The 9th Plenum will therefore be a business-like, issues-oriented debate on the needs and obligations of young people.

In describing the present situation in the country Miroslaw Mileswki observed that attempts to destabilize the social order are not meeting with any positive response among workers. On the other hand, the tragic fact of the matter is that these activities are attracting the attention of young people in some circles. This lends credence to the long well-known fact as expressed in the observation that the boldness, energy, and uncompromising attitudes of young people sometimes go hand in hand with a lack of sense and an insufficient willingness to think realistically. This is why the party must try harder than ever before to win over young people and to rally their support for the tasks confronting society as a whole. "You are the representatives of a social group," said the Central Committee secretary, "which we must convince that the authorities are motivated by good intentions."

Rakowski in Lublin

[Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2]

[Text] On 16 June Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with the aktivs of all youth organizations active in Lublin and the voivodship. The meeting was called for the purpose of discussing problems related to preparations for a plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee which is slated to discuss problems facing the younger generation. In commenting on issues of concern to young people Deputy Premier Rakowski stated that every generation, which in any event grows up under different social and economic conditions, has both its good points and its bad points. Changing circumstances are also a critical factor in determining how young people in Poland behave today. The Deputy Premier reported that the program for solving the problems of young people is predicated on the belief that the younger generation should shoulder the smallest possible share of the burden that will have to be borne in order to find a way out of the country's present social and economic crisis.

Nevertheless, as M. Rakowski emphasized, this is not a program for young people, rather it is a program which should be carried out together with young people. The main provisions of this program are realistic and make allowances for the country's economic capabilities. The program places a heavy emphasis on the need to find solutions to housing problems.

Agriculture Minister Wojtecki

[Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Jun 82 p 2]

[Text] The Minister of Agriculture and the Food Industry, Jerzy Wojtecki, met with the Presidium of the Rural Youth Council of ZSMP Main Board, which is headed up by the presidium's chairman, Roman Kubalonek. The issues which were discussed concerned the conditions under which young people get started in their agricultural vocations and the desire to establish realistic credit and producer-goods procurement preferences for young people who are in the process of taking over family farms. Attention was focused on the fact that young people who are acquiring their own farm lands need to be able to move faster to put their farms into full production.

During the discussion period attention was focused on emerging changes in the area of economic policy, especially so with reference to grain procurement and support for the growth of animal production based on the use of farmers' own fodder stocks, on the principles of the tax reform and the reform of the rural social insurance system, and on the delivery of producer goods to the agricultural sector. Views were also exchanged on ways to make further improvements in the Land Law.

Minister Wojtecki gave assurances that he would give his strong support and assistance to the numerous initiatives being advanced by the ZSMP.

11813

CSO: 2600/713

PZPR KOSZALIN FIRST SECRETARY JAKUBASZEK INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Jun 82 pp 1,2

[Interview with First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Koszalin Eugeniusz Jakubaszek" by Jerzy Oseka: "A Young Region For Young People. Date and Place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What is the significance for young people in Koszalin voivodship that the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee is still a youthful age? What do the young people get from this?

[Answer] I must add that not only the first secretary but almost the whole secretarial staff is made up of young people, as is the Voivodship Committee and the Voivodship Party Control Commission (WKKP). This was no accident since the whole conference had a youthful spirit and character. The very fact of young people raising matters, and the way of argumentation cast attention on young delegates and was decisive in over 50 percent of young people being elected to the plenum.

Koszalin is a voivodship of young people. Sixth-three percent of the population is under 35 years old. Young people predominated among the delegates at the conference. A large influence on the selection of the authorities was also had by the criticism of the previous administration, which was made up of older people.

[Question] Let us return to the question; what then is the meaning for the young people in the voivodship? Secretaries can quickly forget that there are young people.

[Answer] From the beginning, we have been trying to win over as many young people as possible. Among other reasons, this is because after the introduction of martial law, we evaluated the cadre in the voivodship and we devoted much attention to the youth who have recently assumed positions. We have seen that they make up for their lack of experience with determination, courage and dedication. In making many changes in the cadre—about 50 persons have been removed from important positions in the voivodship. The majority of those we have elected to these position have been young people.

[Question] Were these really young people? In Poland, a 40-year old can be a young person...

[Answer] To be more precise, these are people younger than those who held the positions. We are seeking paths to understand youth. We meet often in places of work and usually there are very many young people there. They ask the most questions and touch upon the most sensitive subjects. The role of youth organizations also cannot be passed over. They have come through a very difficult period of quarrels and controversies. Many people have left the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) and the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP). Whenever possible, the secretarial staff meets with the leaders of youth organizations and we link them with the life of Party echelons and executive boards. Youth—also unorganized youth—sees moreover that we are a young administration and that it is easier for us to discuss mutually.

[Question] What about the matter of young people in the party itself? What about active members, most often young people, who became identified after August?

[Answer] During the campaign, 51 percent of the active functionaries and of the first secretaries were changed. Similarly as on the voivodship level, the positions of those comrades who were not reelected were taken by young people. There are plants in which the secretaries—as for example comrade Ryszard Glodkowski in Koszalin—have real authority and where organization is constantly developing. Mainly young people have come to it. At the last executive board meeting, this secretary stated that it must stop the inflow to the party organization. They could accept dozens of people but they want to look carefully at new candidates so as not to commit the old errors with an excessive number regardless of quality.

[Question] It is hard to believe that things are that good. Then you don't have problems with regular and active members leaving, as do many voivodships?

[Answer] That would be a lie. The outflow of disappointed active members occurred first prior to the voivodship conference. Later, they left, most often after crises such as in the Wujek, Ziemowit, and Piast mines. In general, however, it can't be said that young people in Koszalin voivodship have left the party ranks. This is mainly because these people know what they want. They categorically reject the bad, and at every opportunity, seek assurance and guarantee that the new correct decisions do not become a fabrication or are not carried out the old way. We oppose statements that the youth of the 1970's is a lost generation. The majority of them are ambitious, educated and committed.

[Question] What is the hierarchy of youth problems? Without working out many problems, without showing a concrete perspective—which a large part of the young people does not see—it is difficult to speak about linking them with the party and the authorities. How do you approach this in Koszalin voivodship?

[Answer] We want to do all our activities with youth and not only for youth. After all, it is young people who will make use the longest of what we create. There are really many problems. We can't count too much and always on the central authorities. There is much, however, we can do ourselves, for example, the matter of housing. We want to work together to create the possibility of building a home by anyone who wants one. In every city, we are designating areas for private construction. Perhaps, we can also afford to extend the financial and material help available, to all those who decide to build. We already have many positive examples. At present, there is one youth apartment cooperative in Szczecinek. The work of converting attics is continuing throughout our voivodship, however, there are not many of them. We will do everything possible so that with heads held high we can tell youth, "Build, we will do everything to help you." That is the quickest way to having one's own home.

Initiative is very valuable but it requires capital, which most young people do not have. Today, building a home costs 2-3 million zlotys, which requires a personal investment of about half a million. A young engineer or worker does not have this amount of money...

This of course is the biggest barrier, as is also the fear of indebting oneself for life. Certainly, however, the party and the state will help greatly; it will be necessary to introduce loans with the possibility of remitting them. We are looking also at the matter of young families. Our echelon initiated the creation of the Preschool Development Fund (FRP). This was created under the slogan, "a place in preschool for every child." The situation is still bad, and the needs are enormous, though compared to the rest of the country, we don't look bad. We want to resolve this problem by 1990. We also want to convince youth that everything in the voivodship is for them; what will be depends on them alone. In particular, "angry youth" must understand that most of all the future depends on their work input. There is also the important problem of overcrowded schools which we want to resolve and create adequate study conditions for every child. Extremely important is the matter of work for people finishing school. Here there are still many unknowns, for example, the future of Koszalin construction. At the same time, we want youth matters to be always the center of interest of the authorities. Therefore, in the near future, there will be a council for youth affairs in the voivodship. Youth, including those in jobs, must also think about what they have to do for themselves.

[Question] What, however, aside from your own efforts, do you expect from the Central Committee plenum on youth? What role should young members of the Central Committee play here?

[Answer] There are great hopes connected with the plenum. At the same time, we realize how difficult a problem this is. We cannot conclude the plenum with a resolution which does not speak in a meaningful booming voice to the majority of society. Among other reasons, the difficulty lies in the great caution in trusting the party and also in the fact that as a party we are not able to say that we will give youth this and that. We can, however,

say that if we together assume certain activities then in such and such a time they can be mutually resolved. I think that if we have to promise something, then we must support it with real possibilities. Then we will be able to get the trust of the young. Most important is that in fighting for youth, we do not antagonize and lose older people. In coming out for youth, we cannot forget those who have made and are still making our reality. The matters we are going to deal with must concern all of society and not just youth.

[Question] In the central echelon there are 39 of us under 35 years of age. We have already taken our places. The material was worked out on this basis. The last meeting of the young members of the central echelon was very useful, the discussion very stormy. I myself did not like the tone of some of the participants in the discussion who evaluated youth too critically. I argued strongly against these people though the criticism was presented mainly by young workers from plants. But we cannot evaluate youth through the prism of this marginal element. Generally, youth does not reject that the only path we can take is socialism. However, after the plenum, we must reach all of society and not only party activists or the youth movement. We must also reach the maximum number of parents and sow among them a certain uneasiness about the future of their children. Society must be told that the parent, school and community are equally responsible for the upbringing of children and youth. Many comrades at this meeting tried to argue with me but I still think that youth is ambitious and talented. We must do everything to activate youth and keep them together.

[Question] There are great expectations. We are counting on the plenum to resolve many matters and to create a program for young people. Is such thinking, separate from the problems of the entire country, not a delusion?

[Answer] You cannot put the matter in that way though such opinions do exist. We must say simply that the only way to an emergence from the crisis, to an advance of young people, and an improvement in their life conditions is work and again work. We must develop our own cult of work. In approaching youth, we must strongly accent this. And we must go together, all of society through work, to fulfill the plans of young people too, though a difficult road awaits us. Without trust, this will be especially difficult. There is huge capital in the young generation which was invested in past years. I think that the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee will show the road to activating this capital and will free in youth the energy to create, to create mutually a new Polish socialist reality. I believe that youth, organized and unorganized, will not reject the hand offered by the party.

9915

CSO: 2600/744

CEAUSESCU INTERVIEWED BY EGYPTIAN NEWSPAPER

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Aug 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Nicolae Ceausescu by the diplomatic correspondent of the Egyptian newspaper MAYU]

[Text] As has been announced Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received, on 13 August, Hidayat 'Abd al-Nabi, diplomatic correspondent of the Egyptian newspaper MAYU, to whom he gave the following interview:

[Question] Mr President, what are your views regarding the possible solutions to the Palestine problem and the problem of the PLO in Lebanon? What role could Romania play in this connection, bearing in mind its traditional relations with Israel and its excellent relations with the Arab world?

[Answer] The situation in the Middle East is now extremely serious as a result of the Israeli military operations in Lebanon, and particularly in Beirut. The Israeli military operations in Beirut, and in Lebanon in general, must stop and the necessary conditions must be created for the disengagement of forces and the withdrawal of the military forces from Lebanon. Regarding the agreement on the departure of the Palestinian military forces from Beirut, there must be a complete ceasefire coupled with the necessary security guarantees for the completion of this operation.

We must, however, consider solutions to the Beirut problems as part of a general solution to the situation in Lebanon and to the Palestine problem. We believe that the Israeli forces should withdraw completely from Lebanon and that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon must be guaranteed. As I have said, efforts must continue in order to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Palestine question which is the central issue as far as the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is concerned. Romania believes that a new international conference should be held, with the participation of all parties concerned including the PLO, with the aim of solving the problem of the Palestinian people on the basis of their right to self-determination and their right to have their own independent Palestinian state. We believe that at present priority should be given to political and diplomatic efforts to establish comprehensive peace in the Middle East. In this context we believe

that it is necessary to have a mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO. There is room for the two states in the Middle East. There should be enough room for a Palestinian independent state and a guarantee of security for the State of Israel. In general we believe that it is in the interest of all states in the Middle East to have a just and lasting peace, cooperation and good-neighborly relations. As far as Romania is concerned, we will exert every possible effort to help promote a lasting peace, but I wish to point out that the main role and task in this respect belongs with the states of the Middle East, including the PLO.

[Question] Romania has played a mediating role between Iran and Iraq. What effect has this war had on the stability of the entire region and will it have an impact on the West's oil interests?

[Answer] Let me first say that Romania has not played and does wish to play the role of mediator in the Iragi-Iranian conflict. We have from the very beginning been in favor of a halt to the fighting and supported the withdrawal of the forces of both sides to their international borders which existed before the fighting broke out, and the settlement of the conflict between the two countries through peaceful negotiations. We still hold the same view. The war has inflicted heavy casualties and material losses on both states, and the continuation of this war will undoubtedly further complicate the issue and lead to more losses on both sides. Furthermore, the continuation of the war will adversely affect the balance in the whole region. Romania believes that it is in the interest of both countries to ensure their economic and social progress and preserve their territorial integrity and sovereignty. A strong and united Iraq and a strong and united Iran would constitute a firm foundation for stability and peace in the entire region. In this spirit, we believe that all efforts should be geared toward putting a quick end to the fighting and the war.

[Question] Going back to the days when the peace initiative began, could you, Mr President, shed some light on your talks with the late President Anwar al-Sadat, and do you believe there was another way out?

[Answer It is common knowledge that Egyptian-Romanian relations grew steadily when the late President al-Sadat was in power in Egypt. My meetings and talks with President al-Sadat played an important part in this development. In all these meetings we discussed in detail the issues of the Middle East and ways of establishing peace. I would like to underline President al-Sadat's continuous interest in ending the war with Israel and establishing peace that would definitely create the right conditions for the peaceful progress of the Egyptian people. Great credit goes to President al-Sadat for realizing that the future of the Egyptian people depends on ensuring peace. It is in this context that we must view President al-Sadat's historic peace initiative which marked the beginning of the negotiations with Israel and led to the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. It is a known fact that the peace treaty, the return of all Sinai to Egypt and the establishment of peace between Egypt and Israel are the results of this initiative. Some might wonder if there was another way out. There is

no alternative to the peace treaty and to the establishment of peace, except the military option which is war. War does not and never will solve the problems between states. Problems, however complex, can only be solved through realistic policies of peace and understanding. Only through such policies can there be peace and understanding. Only through such policies can peace, economic and social development, and prosperity for all nations be guaranteed.

[Question] Mr President, how do you view the conduct of Israel after the peace initiative? Is is making it easier or more difficult for other Arab states to join in the peace process?

[Answer] After peace was established between Egypt and Israel there was need for work, with a high sense of responsibility, to establish a comprehensive peace. The Israeli military operations in Lebanon will only place enormous obstacles in the way of overall peace. Therefore, as I said before, Israel must abandon its military operations, withdraw its forces from Lebanon, and turn to negotiations with the Arab states, including the PLO, for the establishment of a comprehensive peace based on Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, a settlement of the Palestine problem including the setting up of a Palestinian state, and restoration of neighborly relations to ensure the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in the region.

[Question] In a speech you made at a dinner banquet in Paris in 1970 you said that the Israeli forces should withdraw from the occupied Arab territories "to build a world in which relations will be based on full and equal rights for all." How can this be achieved today in Lebanon, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights?

[Answer] It is true that Romania has always called for the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied after the 1967 war and for a settlement of the Palestine question as a major issue in the Middle East. Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and Lebanon, the settlement of all issues, and the establishment of a comprehensive and lasting peace are now more urgent and necessary than at any other time in the past.

[Question] Mr President, could you tell us more about the Romanian initiative to bring about an international conference to solve the Middle East problem or help the parties concerned sit together around the negotiation table? Is such a conference possible after the Lebanon events?

[Answer] Proceeding from the premise that the Middle East issues should be settled through negotiations, I have, since my talks with President al-Sadat in Ismailia, been discussing the need for an international conference that would create conditions for the participation of all states concerned as well as the PLO. I believe that under the present circumstances such a conference is necessary. This is the right time for it. As I have said, in such a conference all the problems between the states of the Middle East must be discussed and solved, including or rather above all, the Palestine problem, on the basis of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to an independent Palestinian state.

Clearly this necessitates the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and the Golan Heights, and it necessitates that the Jerusalem question be resolved.

[Question] How do you view the holding of an Arab summit conference to discuss the pressing problems in Lebanon, and is it possible for such a conference to convene without Egypt's participation? What is President Ceausescu's advice to the Arabs in these painful moments as we see what is happening in Lebanon?

[Answer] The question of the Arab summit conference is a matter for the Arab states to agree upon and achieve. We believe that under the circumstances every effort must be made to iron out Arab differences and work in complete unity to settle all issues in the Middle East, including the Lebanese and Palestinian issues, in line with the spirit and principles I mentioned.

[Question] You have met with President Husni Mubarak several times. Could you say something about Egypt under President Mubarak's leadership? When will the Egyptian-Romanian summit meeting be held, and could you comment on President Mubarak's message conveyed to you by Dr Usamah al-Baz?

[Answer] True, I have had several meetings with President Mubarak. We discussed the various aspects of Egyptian-Romanian relations. I want to point out here that on every single occasion President Mubarak showed special interest in developing cooperation between our two countries. We also discussed the Middle East, issues of peace between Egypt and Israel, and other international topics. I want to say that ever since President Mubarak assumed the duties of head of state in Egypt, Egyptian-Romanian relations have been continuously growing and expanding. New agreements on economics, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation have been concluded. President Mubarak and I have agreed to meet as soon as possible to discuss bilateral relations and complex international issues. We hope the meeting will take place as early as possible. We are happily awaiting President Mubarak's visit to Romania.

As for the message President Mubarak sent me through his adviser, it dealt in particular with the current issues in the Middle East, the situation in Lebanon, and ways of solving these problems. I must say with extreme satisfaction that the positions of Romania and Egypt on many of these issues are identical or very close. Romania and Egypt want to contribute to the settlement of these issues by political means, by negotiations. The message also dealt with bilateral relations and the forthcoming summit meeting. It falls within the context of the existing tradition between us, namely consultation on all matters of mutual interest. The message at the same time reflects the good relations between me and President Mubarak.

[Question] Mr President, could you please talk about the situation of Romanian-Arab relations in general?

[Answer] Romania maintains positive relations with almost all Arab countries. Even with those countries with which we have not yet established diplomatic relations we maintain economic ties and exchange views on various international issues. Generally, I would like to mention that economic, scientific-technical

relations between Romania and the Arab countries have forcefully developed and they are based on the principles of equality, mutual advantage and noninterference in internal affairs. Like relations with Egypt, the relations with the Arab countries are in the interests of our peoples and constitute an important factor for international cooperation and peace.

[Question] In your approach to the international situation you have always said that military pacts and blocs, be it NATO or the Warsaw Pact, should be abolished. Do you have any new proposals for easing the arms race between the two blocs and for nuclear disarmament?

[Answer] Indeed Romania has always advocated the abolition of military blocs--NATO and the Warsaw Pact -- and maintained that relations between states should be based on the principles of equality, respect for the independence and national sovereignty of others, noninterference in the domestic affairs of others, and renunciation of the use of force and the threats to use force. It is known that the international situation is again very tense. The arms race has assumed enormous dimensions. This is why it is now more necessary than ever that every effort be made to stop the arms race and take tangible steps toward disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. The latest UN session strongly demonstrated all mankind's concern and anxiety about the dangerous situation created by the arms race. Efforts must be made, with full sense of responsibility, to stop the arms race and move toward disarmament through the current negotiations. We have welcomed the initiation of U.S.-Soviet talks on this matter and we believe that sustained work is necessary within the Geneva Committee on Disarmament to conclude suitable agreements to reach this goal.

Romania submitted a number of proposals on issues of disarmament and peace to the recent UN session. I do not want to repeat them now. I only want to say that the United Nations and its organs must play a greater role in fulfilling this vital aspiration of all peoples. In this context, the participation of all states, especially the small and medium-sized states, in solving serious international problems, should be guaranteed. At the same time, people everywhere should further intensify their efforts and activities which have considerably increased recently. Their aim should be to compel governments to make a shift to real disarmament. Under the present circumstances the role of the people and masses is decisive as far as the policies of disarmament, national independence and peace are concerned.

[Question] Mr President, what is your view on the future of the Balkan and Adriatic countries and what is Romania's role in this respect?

[Answer] Romania has advocated and firmly advocates the development of cooperation and friendship among all Balkan countries to achieve in this area—including the Adriatic—an area free of nuclear weapons. We believe that under the current circumstances it is necessary to intensify activity in that direction and I would like to mention Romania's positive relations with all the countries in the Balkans. We believe that new meetings at various levels are necessary between the Balkan countries, as well as the preparation of a summit meeting to jointly agree upon ways and means to turn the Balkans into an area of peace and an area without nuclear weapons.

[Question] Mr President, what is the link between the two preceding questions—the dismantling of blocs and the situation in the Balkans, as well as the ways and means you suggest to resolve them—and European security?

[Answer] As is well known, the two military blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—are actually carrying out their activity in Europe. As a matter of fact, this has led to the fact that the main military forces, including nuclear weapons, are stockpiled on the European continent. Therefore, the dismantling of military blocs would be of particular importance for reducing tension and for achieving disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. Taking into consideration the complex problems, we believe that at this point we must do all we can to achieve the goal of developing cooperation, security and collaboration in Europe in the spirit of the documents signed in Helsinki. The dismantling of military blocs will be the result of developing trust, cooperation and friendship among the European countries.

It is necessary for us to achieve in Europe new relations of equality and respect for independence; it is necessary to ensure people's unity based on respect for the existing social systems and for each European nation's independence and sovereignty. In this spirit we attach great importance to the Madrid meeting, which will resume proceedings in the fall of the current year. We want that meeting to conclude with as positive results as possible and that a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe will be convened.

As I have already mentioned, we view the development of cooperation in the Balkans and the transformation of the Balkans into an area of peace as an integral part of cooperation and security in Europe.

The achievement of cooperation and security in Europe also requires that the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles be halted and that existing ones be withdrawn and dismantled. To achieve a Europe of security and cooperation, to stop the deployment of medium-range nuclear missles and of any other nuclear missiles is a factor of particular importance not only for Europe, but also for peace throughout the world.

[Question] Mr President, we attended the mass meeting in Pitesti and we heard your speech on that occasion. In your speech you referred, with particular clarity, to the need for Israel to halt the military actions in Lebanon and the need for a Palestinian state and an Israeli state in this region. What contribution can the international community make in the achievement of this goal? How can the international community make Israel halt the military actions, especially now, when Yasir 'Arafat has signed the document known as the "olive branch?" Do you believe that all these things should lead to a reassessment of the policy of the United States in regard to the respective problems?

[Answer] I have spoken about the issues of Lebanon and the Middle East. In view of the present circumstances in Beirut and Lebanon, everything must be done to put an end to the war in Beirut and Lebanon, bring about a disengagement of forces and then a complete withdrawal from Lebanon. However,

this only constitutes a part of the work necessary for the promotion of a comprehensive solution to the problems of the Middle East and of a just and lasting peace. All states, as well as the international community, should do everything possible to help impose a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. As I have said, the holding of an international conference is at present a very important matter and is perhaps the best way to achieve a speedy solution to the problems of the Middle East. In organizing the international conference and solving the Middle East problems, the United Nations must play a very active and significant role and, I believe, that the United States and the Soviet Union—and also the permanent members of the Security Council—should take an active role in guaranteeing and achieving peace, including the resolution of the Palestinian problem.

[Question] Mr President, would you be so kind as to explain the Romanian proposal to convene a high level conference of the Third World?

[Answer] As is well known, the situation of developing countries has continued to worsen. The current situation of the division of the world into poor and rich countries is a result of the long policy of imperialist and colonialist domination. The conferences and meetings thus far on the question of underdevelopment and a new international economic order have brought no results. The world energy and economic crisis and the policy of high interest rates have created very difficult conditions for developing countries. In view of all this, it is absolutely necessary to strengthen cooperation and solidarity between developing countries. They must take united action to obtain some results in the negotiations with the developed countries, so as to determine the establishment of new relations and a new economic and political word order, based on equity and equality and mutual advantage in the world economic relations. It is necessary to adopt an international charter which should define the principles of relations between states, the role of developing countries and the conditions for the world's socioeconomic development and progress.

In the current international conditions of powerful interdependence between various states and groups of states, the resolution of the question of underdevelopment and establishment of a new economic order is a prerequisite for overcoming the economic crisis and ensuring the economic stability of the world and the harmonious development of all states. In order to discuss all these problems and establish a common strategy, Romania considers it is necessary to convene a summit conference of developing countries. At the same time, the developing countries can and must strengthen their economic ans scientific-technical cooperation to ensure their faster socioeconomic progress, including with their own forces.

[Question] Would you kindly talk about Romania's development under its president's leadership?

[Answer] In a few days the Romanian people will be celebrating the 38th anniversary of the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist national revolution for social and national liberation. Indeed, in this period and particularly in the years of socialist construction Romania has

made progress of historic significance. Romanian industry today is about 50 times larger than it was before the war. We have developed new industrial branches of high technology and I could say that Romanian industry compares today with the industry of many developed countries. We have strongly developed science and education, which are decisive elements of the entire socioeconomic development and of the process of building a modern industry. Before the war we produced about 300,000 tons of steel; today, we produce over 13 million tons. We used to produce some 1.5 billion kWh of electricity; this year we are producing over 70 billion kWh. Romanian industry today can practically resolve the most complex technical problems, including the production of nuclear energy equipment. Agriculture has also developed vigorously. Agricultural production is 3.5 times bigger than it used to be. Of course, we know that we have not yet achieved everything, either in industry or agriculture, therefore we make efforts to continuously develop both of them.

The national income has increased almost 15 times and on this basis the living standard and the incomes of the working people in all fields have also improved. Compared with 1950, the working people's incomes have increased almost 8 times.

You could see for yourself the construction of dwellings and sociocultural units in Bucharest and other towns. All this clearly illustrates the Romanian people's achievements and efforts to ensure the country's socioeconomic development and ever better living conditions for the people.

During the current 5-year plan, we aim at a new quality of work and life and at the transition from the stage of being a developing socialist country to that of a socialist country with an average level of development. All the Romanian people resolutely work to attain these goals and firmly support the party's domestic and foreign policy, considering that it fully meets the vital interests of the entire nation. As you just mentioned, you participated in yesterday's mass rally and could see for yourself the enthusiasm of our working people. I would like to state that all our achievements are the direct result of the enthusiasm and unanimous participation of the people in socialist construction; all these achievements and everything being done by the party, government and state are devoted to the country's development and the people's well-being and happiness.

I finally wish to express to your readers and the friendly Egyptian people my best wishes for their economic and social progress and consolidation of their independence, and their prosperity and happiness.

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WEAKNESS OF PARTY, DISINTEGRATIVE TENDENCIES DISCUSSED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jul 82 pp 12-13

[Excerpts from article by Prvoslav Ralic]

[Excerpts] ... The same tendencies which were opposed to the LC before also stand in opposition now—the forces of bourgeois restoration and etatistic restoration and the forces which stand among them. But because of the difficult economic situation, the lag in developing self—management, the different political expectations about what will happen to us after Tito's death, because of the lack of unity in the LCY, because of certain actions paralyzing the LC which cannot come to grips with things in an entirely organized, active, and ideological way, because of the party's new mass nature, and finally because of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, these ideological tendencies are acquiring not only intensity but are manifesting new forms, which, above all, are counting on an ideological vacuum which the LC itself is creating.

It is a question of tendencies regarding partnership with the LC. This partnership is expressing itself in standing guard over the national interests of one's own people, in concern over creative freedoms, in taking over the intellectual function of the LC, in a-priori criticism of the leadership, organization, and authority of social institutions, in offering "a theory of unrestraint" and "sniping at the system," allegedly in order to hasten the development of self-management, and in ever louder defense of the model of real socialism. Along with this, an avalanche of negative critical consciousness is felt to a certain degree which perceives the limits of society but does not offer solutions and shows a lack of power to get out of the situation in which we find ourselves.

There are therefore two mutually connected currents in which actual ideological enemies and people who support views of a negative critical consciousness participate: the current of compromising self-management ideas and practice where it is blamed for the present situation; and the current of petit-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalism which, outside the class approach, praises a [particular] nationality and agonizes over its history, not considering what was liberating and what was enslaving in it. Also evident are theorists of nationalism, but fewer and fewer who give theoretical consideration to the working class criterium today.

One should consider also the tendencies of the traditional and neo-intellectual petit-bourgeoisie. There are more and more people of private-ist motivation.

The tendencies toward closing oneself off are general. Not only the encapsulation within republics and provinces, but even within regions, cities, opstinas, and living areas. It is a question of the formalization of human communication...At the same time a petit-bourgeois concept of democracy continues to be nourished. Myths about the "controlling mind," about the fateful conflict between politics and culture and between politics and freedom of creation are spreading.

Bourgeois liberalism has found its way into the press, while the bourgeois intelligentsia has greater access to culture and the media. At the basis of this petit-bourgois atmosphere lie the inertia of private-property relations (that social creature whose reverse side is egoism), the undiscovered ways to overcome the gulf between material-production work and intellectual work, and the inadequate linking of people and their work.

...How do things stand with the socialist-self-management consciousness and commitment?...[We are] faced with the erosion of self-management consciousness, because ideological and political confusion is growing even among people who have up to now been committed to self-management. The poor economic situation, declining standard of living, the process of bureaucratization starting with the OOURs (basic organizations of associated labor), steps backward in self-management, the spread of private-istic behavior, and tendencies toward creating a nonworking strata of people who have a better economic position--contribute to this erosion and confusion.

What should the LC do, ideologically, in such a situation? It is important to realize that there has never been a greater need for action but also there has never been less opportunity for such action. Despite the fact that ideological work has intensified quantitatively (we have never had so many programs and concrete forms of ideological-political education, so many political schools and similar institutions), ideological work is, in fact, being neglected.

...All our cadres are not capable of democratic work, and unfortunately, there are also young people who misuse the authority of the LC to increase their own authority, relating to people in a forum-like way. We need people who are not burdened with various kinds of opportunism, who have the power for democratic and critical communication...with people regarding the questions of life....

New Yugoslavia was created, thanks to the unity of the KPJ (Communist Party of Yugoslavia). Because of the noncommunist articulation of the political interests of the republics and provinces, one has forgotten the experience of this revolution: The cohesive factor of the new Yugoslav society was not the working class or the nation as an abstraction, but the KPJ, or the LCY. It is this [cohesive] factor only when it is leading the way. ...When the revolution stops, when steps backward begin to be made (and these are beginning with the new idolizing of nationalities), the LCY stops being the cohesive factor, and an ideological-political vacuum arises which is filled more or less by organized counterrevolution.

There are many signs that a new phenomenon is at work, namely, the appearance of group hegemonism in the LCY. Socialist Yugoslavia cannot live where one

party is outvoting another, in the grouping of republic and provincial LC organizations. This is the end of the historic logic of the Yugoslav socialist revolution.

The "nationalist" logic of the republic and provincial LCs, the inertia of the unsurmounted bourgeois history of Yugoslavia is continuing in a sea of "a-priori unitarism," irrational fixation on the part of advocates of great-Serbian nationalism. The Comintern vision of great-Serbian nationalism (a-priori unitarism) is becoming ever more evident. This vision is to the advantage of foreign interests because the solution of the nationality question in our country is thereby left to outside powers.

The destruction of equality in the communist movement is destruction of the movement itself, the socialist revolution itself. The communist movement of Serbia and this same movement in Yugoslavia cannot be the object of false democratic games. Our democracy, including party democracy, is clearly specified: this is democratic socialism and self-management as the basic characteristic of Tito-ist Yugoslavia and the LCY.

Is this a factional struggle or something else? Factionalism is the form of a relatively unified organization in which politically aggressive minority groups appear with the potential to organize themselves separately. It seems that in our country this is not the case. The case is more serious: manifestations of hegemonism of republic, provinces, and nations are again evident. These tendencies and the people who support them cannot be questioned until the class standpoint is reinstitutionalized and until, on this basis, one establishes who is where and what is what. Without this, the slide into a nationalist position and nationalistic counterrevolution is ensured. It is time to link the slogan of brotherhood and unity with the slogan of class alliance, not only in ideology but in actual socioeconomic relations.

... No socialist-self-management victory can be achieved with the "blanket" slogan of anti-unitarism, whether it be directed against the unitarism of the "largest" republic or the unitarism of the Federation. Behind this slogan are hidden disintegrative tendencies. We must return to the first experience of our revolution: the party in all nationalities must have the same basic strategy.

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END